COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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Lord Clarendon in the 1st Volume of his History of the Rebellion, p. 203, states, that, "when the factious members of the House of Commons wanted to have any thing pass the House which they feared would meet with opposition, they would draw up a Petition to the Parliament, and send it to their friends in the country to get it signed, and brought it up to the Parliament by as many as could be prevailed upon to do it. Their way was, to prepare a Petition, very modest and dutiful for the form; and for the matter, not very unreasonable; and to communicate it at some Public Meeting, where care was taken it should be received with approbation. The subscription of a very few hands filled the paper itself, where the Petition was written, and therefore many more sheets were annexed, for the reception of the number, which gave all the credit, and procured all the countenance, to the undertaking. When a multitude of hands was procured, the Petition itself was cut off, and a new one framed, suitable to the design in hand, and annexed to the long List of Names which were subscribed to the former. By this means, many men found their hands subscribed to Petitions of which they before had never heard."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PEACE.——Rumours of Peace having been afloat for some days, and there being a talk, amongst the *out* faction, of promoting Petitions for Peace, I shall offer to the reader what presents itself to my mind upon the subject.——Whether it be true, or false, that the late intercourse with France and Holland, through the means of the Austrian Embassador and his messengers, relate to proposals for negotiation; whether it be actually the case, that the mediation of Austria has been offered to England, and refused by her ministers, upon the ground of Austria herself not being independent; whether those ministers have declared, that they will negotiate only with France, directly, and, anticipating the demands of Napoleon, have expressed the laudable determination of never suffering England's ancient rights upon the seas to become matter of discussion in the arrangement of any treaty, to which England shall be one of the parties: whether any part, or all, or none, of this be true, I do not pretend to know; nor would knowledge, in that respect, be of any use towards enabling me to form any judgment upon the question of peace, seeing that nothing that can be said, or contemplated, by the negotiating parties, can alter the real state of things, as it notoriously exists. This state of things is described in very few words: Napoleon has conquered the continent of Europe. The three states, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who retain their former names and sovereigns, and who are not actually governed by his generals and his troops, are, nevertheless, not independent; but are, and must be, compelled to do whatsoever it may please him to command them to do, and, of course, to injure, as far as they have the power of injuring, this country; while all the maritime states, from the Baltic to the Hellespont, are under his absolute and immediate controul; England alone, (for the fate of Sweden is hardly known) of all Europe, remaining truly independent of his power.——Such is the state of things; and, in order to form a judgment as to what ought to be our terms of peace, if now made, we must first consider, what are the probable views of Napoleon respecting us. He has conquered all Europe, England excepted; and, it is in the nature of ambition, never to rest, until it can go no further. The nearer, too, that it approaches its utmost limits, the more eager it becomes. Thus have we constantly seen it, in the case before us. Long ago was Napoleon so firmly seated, his power so decidedly greater than that of any other prince in Europe, that, if security and superiority would have satisfied him, perfectly satisfied he must have been. But, we have seen, that his eagerness for conquest has increased with his success; and we now see him grasping, in every direction, to add to that power, which seems almost incapable of receiving an addition. Upon what ground, then, can any man pretend to hope, that he does not wish to conquer England; and that he has not resolved upon the conquest? England, without the conquest of whom many of his other conquests are insecure; England, whose example, if left independent, might and would, be so troublesome to him; England, of whom, for so many reasons, he bears a deadly hatred; England, who has, in all times, been the rival of France; England, between whom and France, it is now, in the presence of all nations, a contest, which shall hereafter be looked upon as the first nation in the world? Upon what ground, then, I ask, is it, that any one can pretend to hope, that he does not seriously meditate the conquest of Eng-

land; and that, while he lives, there is any thing but an exertion of our power that will give us a chance of escaping the fate of Holland and Portugal?——If there be no ground for hoping, that this is not the case, the advice of the Morning Chronicle, to wit, that we should bring down our minds to the new state of things in the world; and that we should no longer be unhappy, because we cannot be so great as formerly; this advice is perfectly useless; for, there is no sort of submission, no degree of humiliation or disgrace, short of absolute slavery, that would satisfy Napoleon, who has left us but this simple alternative, to be the greatest nation or no nation at all.——With this alternative before us it is that we must make peace with him, if we make any peace at all; for, whether in peace or in war, he will speedily pursue his object; and, if it be true, that he now speaks of peace, with an intention of making a treaty, it is only because he thinks that a treaty, such as he hopes to make with us, would answer his purpose, at this time, better than an uninterrupted continuation of the war.——Therefore, in making a peace with him, we should resolve not to suffer him to profit from such peace to our annoyance. He has the land, and we have the sea. If he would restore Holland, Denmark, Portugal, Spain, and Naples to a real independence, then we might agree to relax in the exercise of our maritime power; but, if he be inflexible as to the preserving of his controul over the states upon the coast of the continent, we should be inflexible in our resolution so to exercise our power, in peace, as to prevent the resources of those states from being turned against us at the renewal of a war.——I do not pretend to lay down what ought to be the precise conditions of a treaty with him; but, it appears to me, that, as long as he holds controul over the states above mentioned, we never should suffer any ship of war of those states to sail upon the sea; and further, that we should make it ground of war, if, in any of those states, ships of war were known to be erecting. I know I shall be told, that, to insist upon terms like these would be to say, that we will not have peace; but, my answer is, that terms like these we must have, or we have only this choice left, go to war again in a year or be conquered; and, go to war, too, in a much worse relative situation then we now are.——The late orders of council, though breathing a low huckster-like language, have, as I predicted they would, produced terrible alarm and distress in many of the countries under the dominion, or controul, of France. If this system be persevered in for a year or two, it will become settled; it will effect a revolution in men's minds with regard to that maritime dominion, which we shall be perceived to possess in reality as well as in name. It, therefore, behoves Napoleon to stifle this system in its birth; not to let it have a fair trial; to get rid of it, for a while at least, by a peace. Against this device our ministers ought to be upon their guard.——The "Petitions for Peace," of which the Morning Chronicle talks so much, will, I suppose, bear a pretty faithful resemblance, in their origin, to those petitions so well described by Lord Clarendon, in the passage taken for my motto to this sheet: and, then, all that the ministers will have to do, is, to send out their scouts to obtain addresses, breathing sentiments exactly the reverse of those expressed in the petitions. But, I am quite at a loss to foresee what the petitioners can possibly say at this time, upon the subject. To beseech the king to make peace upon safe and honourable terms is evidently useless, because he expresses his anxious wish to do that, and because, moreover, that will leave him to judge of what terms are safe and honourable. To beseech him to make peace upon any terms that Napoleon chooses to dictate, they will hardly venture; and, therefore, I cannot see what they can say that will have any sense or meaning in it. If, indeed, a negociation were begun, and it was understood, for instance, that we contended for the possession of the Cape of Good Hope, or the re-possession of Hanover by the Elector, and that all other matters were arranged; then, to petition the king to give up the point, in order that peace might be restored, would have some sense in it; but there can be no sense in a vague application to him to "restore the blessings of peace," without knowing, or pretending to know, any thing of the obstacles which stand in the way of accomplishing that object, which, beforehand, he assures them, he has most anxiously at heart. Indeed, it is, I think, evident enough, that under the present circumstances, to send up "petitions for peace," as they are called, must be considered as a mere party device; a mere attempt of the *outs* to annoy the *ins*, and to lessen their own personal disgrace by dividing it with a portion of the people, not many of whom, however, will, I should think, be willing to become their tools.——The Morning Chronicle, which is the herald of the Whig politics, has requested the public to mark well, and to bear in mind, that Mr. Canning has said, in his answer to the Russian declaration, that "the last negociation was

broken off upon points, in which England was not immediately interested." Well, and what then? It might be shameful enough to break off the negociation upon such points; but, to whom does the shame belong? To the ministry then in power certainly; and that ministry was composed of those who are now out of power. But, do we not remember, that that ministry, by the hand of Mr. Fox, declared, that they never would make peace, without obtaining the restoration of Hanover, which, according to Lord Grenville's expression, "ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire?" And yet, they have now the assurance, to endeavour to raise a clamour for peace, and to excite a prejudice against their rivals, as being resolved to withhold that blessing from the country, without any regard to the terms, upon which it might be obtained.——In this clamour, however, some of the party will hardly join; and, I think, that I here perceive, the approach, not of the fall, but of the complete annihilation, of Whiggism, which has existed for about one hundred and forty years, to the infinite injury of England.

AMERICAN STATES (continued from page 54.)——The following is given, in the American papers, of the 9th of December, as the supposed substance of Mr. Canning's *note* to Mr. Munroe, respecting the affair of the Chesapeake.—— "Mr. Canning's answer "Mr. Monroe is said to state; that the British Government has always claimed and "exercised the right to take British seamen "wherever found; that according to modern usages of civilized nations, national "vessels were not liable to search; that Great "Britain will conform to this usage; that for "the affair of the Chesapeake reparation "will be made, and a minister sent to the "United States for that purpose. No hint "is given as to the nature or extent of the "reparation. On the contrary, it is expressly stated, that the claim of the American Government to reparation is lessened by the refusal to deliver up their men, "and by the President's Proclamation, both "of which are considered as acts of hostility on our part. That the minister sent "to the United States would be expressly "instructed not to blend with the affair of "the Chesapeake either the impressment of "seamen, or any other subject of difference between the two countries. The "letter is in a style more haughty than conciliatory, and calculated rather to increase than lessen the sentiment of indignation so generally excited by the unprincipled conduct of Great Britain towards neutrals generally, and particularly "towards the United States."——There is no saying how far this may be correct; but, I think, it is very likely to be tolerably so: and, if that be the case, the Note has not much in it that is objectionable. "Great "Britain" has *not* always claimed and exercised the right in question; "Great Bri-"tain" has *never* exercised it; but England has both claimed and exercised it; and, why she should not do it now, I can see no reason, except it be found in her union with Scotland, and in her having foolishly adopted a nickname, when under the rule of the Whigs of former times. Who would not laugh at the French, if they were to call their country "Great Gaul?" We have now got a name making, together with that of the king, a long lawyer-like piece of tautology, that is perfectly ridiculous.——That the Americans should call Mr. Canning's style "haughty," is not at all surprizing; for, they would be satisfied with nothing short of licking their feet; that is to say, unless they found us seriously bent upon resenting their insolence and injustice.——The receipt of newspapers from Halifax, Nova Scotia, have enabled me to furnish the people of England with some specimens of the "mild, unoffending, and "peaceful" conduct of the Americans; and, I should hope, that these specimens would have a powerful tendency towards producing a right way of thinking, with respect to the disposition of the Americans, in every Englishman, the editor of the Morning Chronicle solely excepted. In the month of September last, a mutiny took place on board the English frigate, the JASON, Capt. Cochrane, then being in the harbour of New York. The principal mutineers were tried, at Halifax, on the 27th of that month, and two of them were executed, according to their sentence. I will first give an account of what then took place, as published in the Halifax paper of the 13th. of October.——"Yesterday "morning at 8 o'clock, William Caton "and Mounsey Tinning, two of the unfor-"tunate men, who were sentenced to death "on the 27th ult. for Mutiny on board of "His Majesty's frigate Jason, were execut-"ed at the fore-yard arm of that ship. "Campbell, Bone, Brown and Denen, "alias Matthews, then also sentenced to "death, were respited after they had as-"cended the platform.—As a justification "of their conduct, these men had agreed "together to persist in a charge of cruelty "against their officers, under the idea that "such a conduct, would excite so compas-"sionate an interest in their favor, as would

" ultimately lead to their pardon ; and so " general had been the compassion excited, " that a petition had been presented in their " behalf by the Marine Humane Society. " Their execution was in consequence de- " layed, and the strictest enquiries instituted, " until the Commander in chief had become " so fully satisfied of the falsehood of the " charges, and of the great criminality of " Caton and Tinning, in particular, that " mercy could not, without injury to the " service, be extended to them. Just as " these men were leaving the cabin to as- " cend the platform, the whole six, expect- " ing to suffer, burst into tears, and, address- " ing the reverend gentlemen who attended " them, said, " they could not bear to go " out of the world with a lie in their mouths. " That the charges they had stated against " their officers were not true, and had only " been made by them, in hopes to excite " compassion." They requested those gen- " tlemen to commit to writing, this, their " dying declaration, and they would all " sign it. This was accordingly done, and " having been favored with it, it is with " the utmost satisfaction we communicate " it to the public. They also at the awful " moment of their departure, declared, " that they, with the men recommend- " ed to mercy, had combined to criminate " their officers. They asked pardon of their " officers for their injurious conduct in as- " persing their characters, and exhibited the " strongest marks of penitence and con- " trition."

Confession.

" We, the undersigned, most solemnly " declare, before the Rev. Dr. Stanser, and " the Rev. George Wright, as we shall an- " swer at the day of judgment, that we " have never been tyrannically or ill treated " by Capt. Cochrane, or any of the offi- " cers of his majesty's ship Jason ; but, on " the contrary, have always met with good " usage, and have nothing to complain of. " As witness our hands this 12th day of " Oct. 1807.—Wm. Caton, Thomas Camp- " bell, Peter Bond, ✕, his mark, Moun- " sey Tinning, Robert Denen, alias John " Matthews, Patrick Brown, ✕, his mark. " —— Witness. Robert Stanser, George " Wright."———Now I proceed to state, from the same authority, that which will clearly shew, that the crime of these unfortunate men, that their ignominious exit from life, and the injury done, in this case, to our navy and our country, are all to be attributed to the malice, the insolence, and the treachery of the Americans.—— The Jason was the bearer of dispatches for our consul at New York. In order to deliver those dispatches, a boat, with a Lieutenant and eight men in her, was sent on shore. She had scarcely arrived at the landing place, when several hundreds of people, some of them lawyers, assembled on it, and openly invited the boat's crew to desert, telling them, that " they were now in a land of li- " berty, where they would be protected, " and that that was the time to shake off " the galling yoke of British oppression and " slavery." The sailors, lured by such an invitation, and emboldened by the number of their new and kind friends, leaped from the boat, and were received, by the malignant host, with shouts of applause. The Lieutenant, however (whose name, I regret, does not appear), pursued them, and intrepidly rushing amongst the civilized savages, seized two of his men ; and, in spite of the imprecations and threats that resounded from every quarter, dragged them to his boat, and thus returned to the frigate. But, it soon afterwards appeared, that this was but the first germ of that mutiny, the seeds of which had been artfully sown on board the frigate, by the Americans, who had been admitted alongside in the pilot and provision boats. Almost the whole of the crew became implicated in a conspiracy, which went " to the " seizing of the ship, and delivering her up " to the Americans." The officers, with a courage and presence of mind, seldom to be met with in such perfection as in the British Navy, frustrated the design, and though the shore was hostile to them, they succeeded, by degrees, in securing the ringleaders. When they had done this, the frigate immediately sailed for Halifax, leaving behind, however, the six seamen, who had been, as above mentioned, invited and protected by the people of New York. —— " This," the Morning Chronicle may say, " is the ac- " count given by the enemies of us, advo- " cates for America." But, I will give that gentleman an article from an American newspaper, published at Richmond, in Virginia, on the 24th of July last, just at the time when the desertions from our ships at Norfolk, in Virginia, led to the affair of the Chesapeake ; and, without any shuffling and equivocating, let the Morning Chronicle tell me what he and his faction have to say in defence of it.——I must first state to the reader, that, in order to assist our officers, in their endeavours to put a stop to the desertion from the fleet, arising from the base inveigling of the Americans, the inhabitants of Halifax had associated for the purpose of giving rewards to those who would apprehend deserters. Upon this, the follow-

ing article, extracted, as above-mentioned, from the American paper, descants, at the same time that it expresses its joy at the desertion which prevails.—— "Richmond, "Virginia, 24th July, 1807.—In this day's "paper, the patriot will read with pleasure, "that the spirit of desertion from the British fleet prevails to a degree, *which "threatens their service with destruction.* "The merchants of Halifax, long famed "for their hostility to the independency and "prosperity of the United States, have "formed an association to counteract this "temper by rewards, &c. These voluntary instruments of the most oppressive "tyranny, these advocates for human servitude and wretchedness, have offered no "less that 74 dollars a man, to intercept "the victims of power and oppression from "the enjoyment of light and liberty. And "yet, notwithstanding these efforts, and the "terrors of punishment, the love of liberty "seems to prevail.—How long do these Halifax associators calculate upon the enjoyment of privileges which they use for such "inhuman purposes? Do they believe because a sailor is knocked down, then gagged, "then manacled, and thus carried on board "that *little Hell, called a British Man of "War,* he will forget that he once was a "member of a civilized community? that "he felt, thought, hoped, and loved, with "the feelings customary to human beings? ——In what situation will the merchants "of Halifax be, if active and open war shall "take place between the United States and "Great Britain? Sound policy will dictate that the British Government should "be deprived of that important station? "The inimical conduct of the inhabitants "will decide the question: and the enterprise of our fellow citizens of New England will soon accomplish the object.—— "Yes, Halifax will be remembered; her "iniquities call aloud for vengeance, and "the violated rights of humanity, as well "as national honour, will hasten the blow. "If these enemies of human happiness and "liberty associate for the perpetration of "fiend-like purposes, why may not, why "ought not, the philanthropists of the "United States to associate for contrary "purposes? *Why not give rewards and "offer inducements to those who are pent "up in prisons, more detestable than the "realms of Tartarus, to make their escape, "and seek in the land of liberty that asylum which is offered by a free and benevolent people? By such means the spirit "of emancipation will be encouraged: the "tidings will fly like lightning from ship "to ship, and our foe will be deprived of "the means of annoyance.*——These things "are hastily submitted to public consideration; they will be found to merit notice, "and it is hoped may be productive of beneficial consequences. It will be strange "indeed, if the United States do not contain as many who will open their purse to "promote the happiness of their fellow-"creatures, as are found in Halifax, who "will give money to make misery more "wretched."——And this is the "mild, "unoffending, and peaceful people," of whom Mr. Senator Mitchell (see the last Register) was speaking for six or seven hours, on the 27th of November last. Here is an openly and publickly made proposition for raising a fund to induce, by the means of rewards, English seamen to desert from the service of their country, and violate their oaths. Come forth, then, Mr. A. B; of the Morning Chronicle, or Mr. James Perry, who has published your letters in a pamphlet with a preface of his own, almost, if not quite, as stupid as the letters themselves; come forth, I say, one or both of you, and tell us now, whether "the "language of the news-papers of a country "ought to be considered as the language of "the government of that country." Answer us without reserve; be plain and direct. None of your cant about "desperate "politicians," and the "calamities of "war;" but, answer us this plain question: Do you, who insisted, that the language of the English news-papers, ought to be considered as the language of the English government, allow, that the language of this American news-paper, published under the President's nose, ought to be considered as the language of the American government? Tell us, too, Mr. Morning Chronicle, whether your assertion, that the number of our seamen, on board of American ships, was trifling, will still be persisted in, after this American news-paper has, in strains of exultation, declared, that the desertion in their habours "threatened our "service with destruction."——Mark the moral philosophy of this "mild, unoffend-"ing, and peaceable people." Because the merchants of Halifax offer rewards for apprehending deserters; that is to say, for the taking of criminals and for the prevention of crimes, the "mild and unoffending peo-"ple" think themselves called upon to offer rewards for the inviting of men to commit crimes. They look upon the people of Halifax as their foes; as people meriting chastisement and destruction, because they wish to prevent the Americans from

inveigling away our seamen, and from destroying the service of our navy. But, this is truly characteristic of them, in whose eyes it is always a crime, worthy of signal vengeance, in any one to presume to defend himself against their roguish or insolent attempts. —— "Land of liberty!" The *name*, if you please, but none of the *thing*; no not half so much as there was amongst the convicts, by whom Virginia was first settled. On board of their own "little "hells," they can flog as much as they please. When their cutter, "the *Revenge*" was at Falmouth, the town was, every day, annoyed with the cries of their flogged sailors, several of whom deserted to the shore; but, just the contrary of their own practice, were taken and sent on board again.—— This that I have cited, is by no means a solitary instance. I could fill this sheet with paragraphs, from American papers, none of them much less atrocious than the one I have selected. It is the language, not of an obscure individual, but of a considerable part of the leaders in the country. How vain, how stupid, how idiot-like is it, then, in us, to hope, that they are to be won by concession! Fifteen years of concession on our side and of insolent encroachment on their side have we already endured, to our pecuniary cost and to the disgrace of our character. No more of these years we have, I hope, to endure; and, indeed, I am not afraid of it; for, I suspect, that the article, which I have inserted below, entitled "the *Maniac's Politics*," comes from one of the ministry, and I am sure, that the writer of that incomparable piece of satire sees all the question, relative to America, in its true point of view.——The Morning Chronicle and his faction (for they are not to be separated) continually ring in our ears the evil consequences which will attend a war with America. I say, and, I think, I have proved, that no evil consequences to us, would arise from such a war; but, supposing there should? What has that to do with the dispute? Are we, merely because we shall lose by a war, to accede to the demands of Mr. Jefferson? If so, why not accede to any other demands that he may think proper to make? The argument is wonderfully comprehensive. It embraces all possible cases; and, if our ministers were so foolish and base as to listen to it now, they would very soon, have to listen to it again.——If the *outs* should try this question, in parliament, they might bid the walls of St. Stephen's farewell at the close of the discussion; for I am very much deceived, if they would find one man in the whole country, some merchants and manufacturers and the American fund-holders excepted, who would not, from that hour, hold them in abhorrence. The whole of the English nation, from the highest to the lowest, now see the Americans and their conduct as they are. You will meet with no disinterested man, who entertains, or affects to entertain, any alarm at their threats. Amongst the women, and down to the very children, they are held in contempt, as a very satisfactory proof of which, I here quote the verses under the picture of "PRESIDENT JEFF," whom the Twelfth-cake sellers selected as one of the droll characters for the diversions of those hours of English festivity, the evening of the sixth of January.

"See President Jeff sits in deep contemplation,
"O'er politic plans that relate to our nation;
"Whate'er the conclusion, we rest with reliance,
"Old England can hold all her foes in defiance."

Would that Jefferson could see the image engraven at the top of these verses! I thank Mr. Kerr most heartily for it. Delicious as his cake was, "President Jeff" was still more delicious.——Trifling as this circumstance is in itself, it is an indication of public feeling, which the Whigs, after all, are not foolish enough to hold in contempt. ——From the latest intelligence, that has been received from America, it appears, that the ever-famed non-importation act was to go into effect in the middle of December; but, I wish the reader to bear in mind, that, in the prohibitions of this act, *cloth* and *woollens* and *hardware* are not included. It must be evident, however, that the executing of the act will alarm the merchants there, and will put a stop to their orders. It will produce a state of things not much unlike war; but, if our ministers hold firm, the act will be repealed in nine months' time. There is, of course, a stock of goods in hand sufficient to last about a year, especially as the autumnal importations have, in all probability, been made with a view to the probable ensuing interruption of trade. This stock of goods will go on rising in price, and, of course, the consumption will become more economical. From these natural causes the stock in hand will be made to last a year, perhaps, with the suffering of great inconvenience; and, upon this calculation the Congress hope to bring us to their terms. But, as was observed in the last Register, they have all along been reckoning upon wrong impressions. When they passed their act, Napoleon was in a fair way of conquering Prussia; when they issued their proclamation and sent their demand of satisfaction, in consequence of the affair of the Chesapeake, they

were full of the intelligence of the peace of Tilsit; when Mr. Munroe left England, the American merchants and fund-holders were beginning to clamour, and to form their Corresponding Societies. Thus, at every stage of their progress, they have been reckoning and acting upon what was gone by, here, without at all affecting the spirit of the country; and, at the very moment when they are supposing themselves able to awe us into compliance by commercial restrictions, we are deliberating within ourselves, whether it would not be a good thing for England, if all commercial connection with them were, for ever, put an end to. Mr. Munroe, too, who is notoriously a partizan of France, and who, for the best of all reasons, is a bitter enemy of England, would not be very likely to make representations, calculated to check the presumption of his countrymen. In short, until they heard of the affair of Copenhagen, they looked upon us as upon the eve of bending down before Napoleon and his maritime coalition; and this notion of us emboldened them to go so far, that they are now ashamed to retract. They must do something, they perceive; they must make a shew of war; but, if they are wise, they will sneak out of it as soon as possible; for woe be unto them, if once any considerable naval force be sent across the Atlantic.—— Their advocates here, of whom the Morning Chronicle is the trumpet, are continually reminding us of the quantity of cloth we send to America and of cotton we receive from America. We have given our reasons for believing, that this exchange is of no advantage to England. We have, I think, fully proved, that it is of no advantage. Nevertheless, without any attempt to answer our arguments, these advocates repeat, with rather increasing weight of emphasis, their cuckoo-like admonitions. But, again I say, supposing us to lose by a war with America, will the Morning Chronicle say, that we ought to accede to the demands of the Americans? That is the question for him to answer. The Americans make demands upon us. They begin a quarrel. They demand, first, that we should suffer them to inveigle our seamen on board their ships, merchant ships as well as others, and that we should give up our right to search for such seamen. Second, they demand, that, when once the said seamen, or any other subjects of the king, have received from them a bit of paper (price nine-pence) which they call a certificate of citizenship, we shall acknowledge them as Americans, and, if we take them in the act of fighting against us, shall consider them merely as prisoners of war. Third, that we should allow them to favour our enemy by conforming to his maritime decrees hostile to us, and that we should pass no maritime decrees, or orders of council, hostile to him, or, at least, that we should not make them conform to such orders, in like manner as they had conformed to his decrees; in other words, that they shall be permitted to hold our hands behind us, while Napoleon comes in front and knocks us on the head. They demand, in short, that the king of England should put his hand and seal to a treaty, acknowledging, that America, has, under the garb of neutrality, a right to do her utmost to destroy the English navy, and to assist France in all her hostile measures against England. But, taking the demands without any commentary, will the Morning Chronicle say, that the ministers ought to submit to those demands, rather than go to war? I want a direct answer to this question. I have long applied for, but can never obtain it. There is nothing more mean than to persevere in making representations of the evils of war; in harping upon the loss of trade, and the distress that will arise from it; in winding up always with a cant about "desperate politicians," urged on by "their blind passions;" without ever meeting the question, whether the demands of the enemy ought to be submitted to. "According," says this shuffling gentleman, in his paper of Tuesday last, "According to the apprehen-
"sions of the American merchants, an em-
"bargo will be immediately laid on the
"American shipping in our harbours. In-
"deed, the best informed persons are con-
"vinced, that a war between this country
"and America is certain. This opinion is
"justified by *the conduct of ministers.*" What conduct? Good or bad? Why do you not strike? "Willing to wound" you are; but you want the courage to give the blow. You, perceive, perhaps, that it would recoil upon the late ministers; and thus, divided between hope and fear, you content yourself with an equivocal insinuation. When approaching war is the subject, the first question to ask is this: is our cause just? The next is: will the probable evils of war be less than the probable evils of preserving peace upon the terms demanded by the enemy as the price of a continuation of peace? If both these questions be answered in the affirmative, the conclusion necessarily is, that war ought to take place. In that case, or until these questions have been discussed, it is sheer nonsense to run on in a strain of lamentation about the evils of war; and, when the questions have been

argued by one party, coming to a conclusion that war ought to take place, it is downright brazen impudence in the other to persevere in his lamentation, without attempting to answer the arguments, by which it has been maintained, that the probable evils of war would be less than the probable evils of preserving peace upon the enemy's terms.—— I wish the reader to bear in mind, that the demand of America, relative to the harbouring and protecting of our seamen, was made long before the Orders of Council were dreamt of. It was made two years ago, or thereabouts, and has been urged, in stronger and stronger language, exactly as Napoleon has advanced in his conquests. It is a demand upon us to surrender the exercise of a great maritime right; to surrender what we deem essential to the maintenance of our naval superiority. The Americans, therefore, are the aggressors. They say, we will have this of you; you shall give up the exercise of this right, or we will make you, by a war. This view of the matter ought to be constantly before us. It is not we, or our late or present ministers, who have been picking a quarrel with them. It is they who have been picking a quarrel with us; who have been taking advantage of what they regarded as our embarrassments, to extort from us, in a moment of alarm, that which should be the lasting disgrace and final ruin of our country. Talk of a peace, indeed! What terms of peace should we have to expect from Napoleon, if Mr. Jefferson, by his non-importation act, could scare us unto a compliance with his demands?——I repeat, that I do not wish for a war with America, though I am convinced it would produce good to England. The blowing down of my neighbour's trees would do me good by letting the rays of the sun in upon my garden, and in removing a daily increasing annoyance; yet, it would be mean and wicked in me to wish to see them blown down. But, if he were to avail himself of the shelter of the branches of his trees slily to let stones drop down upon my head; I should think myself justified, not only in punishing him for his base and unprovoked maliciousness, but in going, as far as the law would allow, to deprive him of the means of gratifying his malice in future. Upon the same principle, if the Americans will leave us no alternative but that of war or a surrender of our rights; if they will insist upon going to war, unless they are permitted to hold our hands while France knocks us on the head; then I would gladly see their government demolished, and their country divided and parcelled out in such a way, as would prevent the possibility of their making new demands, and, underhand, aiding the cause of our enemy in Europe. This, if a war take place, our ministers have it completely in their power to effect, and the effecting of it would immortalize even the Duke of Portland, whom I have (perhaps unjustly) always suspected of having a strong bias in favour of the Americans. ——The "New Amphyctionic Council" talk big, and big they will talk for a while. They will pass laws for the making of cannon foundries, for purchasing arms and ammunition, for raising millions of men, for erecting fortifications, and for building ships. But, they neither will nor can do any of these. From the report of a late debate, it appears, that a motion being made for arming the militia, a member said, that the militia were 600,000 in number, and that, at 6 dollars a man, the sum required would be 3,600,000 dollars. He might have said three times that sum; for 18 dollars, that is £4. 1. 0., will not equip a private foot soldier with arms and accoutrements, in America; therefore, to arm the militia would cost more than the whole of a year's revenue, leaving nothing wherewith to pay the interest upon the national debt, not to mention the "American navy," and the fortifications, and the other expenses of the year, including the wages of the members of Congress. Yet, the motion passed without a division; and so it would, if it had been for arming the inhabitants of the moon. The member who suggested doubts as to the possibility of arming the militia, observed, that they ought to have something better than the mop-sticks, with which they were at present armed. This was no figure of speech. It was the representation of a real fact. I have seen part of the rabble which they call their militia; and, with the exception of the officers, I never saw one of them with a bit of iron, in any shape, in his hand, the whole thing being a mere burlesque. Mr. Randolph, the wise author of the motion, said, that the far greater part of the militia had arms of their own; alluding, I suppose, to the Birmingham fowling pieces, which they use most dextrously in the killing of squirrels and birds. If these are replaced by muskets, the muskets must go from England, or, at least, from Europe; and, if war take place, how are they to go?——But, the best of it is, that, in a war against us, this famous militia will be of no use; for we shall not, I hope, be silly enough to attempt "expeditions" against them. An order from the Admiralty to take, burn, sink, and destroy, with

five ships of the line, ten or twelve frigates, a good supply of sloops, and a bundle of proclamations, will settle the matter speedily; and it is quite as well to employ our ships in this way, as to let them remain idly flapping their sails up the Mediterranean or along the iron coast of France. I do not think it would be necessary to take any one post upon land, except, perhaps, to cover an anchorage near the mouths of the Mississippi. Nova Scotia, on one side, and New Providence, on the other side, would be quite sufficient as places of rendezvous and for the speedy condemnation of prizes. There would be a bustle, with privateers for a few months; and, about September next, the grass would begin to grow in the streets of the cities, all which are situated near the coast. I cannot help, thus early, to press the objection to expeditions, which must be terribly expensive, and which, against the Americans, would be, besides, worse than useless; because such enterprizes would find them employment. I would securely stop their holes, and leave them to quarrel and fight amongst themselves, which they would soon infallibly do.——Accustomed, as I so long was, to live under the abuse of the English-hating faction in America, I was not at all surprised to hear, the other day, that some of them here had hired the columns of a dirty wretch, who conducts an obscure opposition paper in London, called "THE STATESMAN," wherein to publish infamous aspersions upon my character; but false and infamous as these are, they are trifling to what were, by persons of the same description, published in America, and the sole provocation of which was, my having stood forward in defence of the rights and the character of my native country. As to the half-famished caitiff, who has sold himself to this work of furbishing up frequently refuted lies, I shall leave him to pine away with the faction who are so base as to accept of his services; and, his American employers may be assured, that no abuse of theirs shall ever draw me aside from the question between the two nations. I have not suffered my personal injuries, great as they were, to intrude themselves, into my mind I will not say, but certainly never into the discussion. Besides, if I were to balance the love that I bear towards some persons in America against the hatred which I bear towards others, the former would have the decided preponderance. I have, as far as my information would go, fairly stated all the facts relating to this dispute; I have plainly expressed my wish that a war should take place, rather than that my country should submit to the American demands; I have fully given the reasons upon which that wish is founded; and, my opponents, instead of attempting to shew, that my facts are false or my reasons are unfounded, resort to outrageous invective, to calumnious, and infamous personal accusations, which they know to have been preferred before, and which they know to have been unanswerably proved to be void of even the slightest foundation. I want no better proof of the badness of their cause.

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY. ——The IIIrd. Volume of this Work being now published, I think it right to give, respecting it, some information more than has been yet given, and more, indeed, than it was, until now, in my power to give.—— In the Prospectus, and also in the Preface, it was stated, that, as to the necessity of such a Work, it was, at this day, no easy matter merely to find the several books containing an account of the Parliamentary Proceedings, some of those books being very scarce and others excessively voluminous; that, supposing them all to be at hand, the price of them was no trifling consideration, seeing that it was quite improbable that any one would be able to purchase them for less than One Hundred and Fifty pounds; that, these difficulties overcome, others, and more formidable presented themselves to the acquiring of information; for, that the volumes were so numerous, some of them so bulky, all of them loaded, more or less, with matter unauthentic, or wholly foreign from the subject, their contents so badly arranged and, through the most bulky part of the work, they were so completely destitute of running Titles, Tables of Contents, and Indexes, that it must be the labour of many years for even the most industrious person, to come, by such means, at any thing like a competent knowledge of the History of the Parliament of England.——With a view of removing these difficulties, which I, in common with others, had experienced, the present work was undertaken. It was desirable to have it as little expensive as possible, but without omitting any thing authentic, really making part of the Proceedings of Parliament, and without crowding the matter so as to create, in that way, a new obstacle to perusal and research. A calculation was made; and, it was found, that, to combine economy with convenience, the form adopted for the Parliamentary Debates (which is the same as that of the Political Register), would be the best, and would have the additional recommendation of causing the volumes of this

new Work to correspond with the volumes of the Parliamentary Debates, both works united making a complete Parliamentary History, from the earliest times down to the present day. From this calculation, it appeared, that, by carrying each volume to the extent of 1500 pages, or thereabouts, the whole of the work would be comprized in Sixteen Volumes, which, at the price of a guinea and a half each volume, would bring it within the compass of moderate expence. To almost every one, it will, at first sight, seem incredible, that the whole work, as above described, should come into so comparatively small a space. But, when it is considered, that so large a part of the several works above enumerated, is taken up with Narratives of Battles, Sieges, and of Domestic Occurrences; that whole pamphlets of the day, and very long ones, are, in many places, inserted, just as they were published and sold; that, when we come down to a later period, we, in numerous instances, find three-fourths of the volume filled up with Papers of mere momentary utility, substantially repeated in subsequent, less diffuse, and more correct statements; and that (as any one may easily verify) the Sixteen Volumes of this work will contain as much print as One Hundred and Forty common octavo volumes: when all this is considered, I shall not be thought to speak at random, when I say, that the whole of the authentic and useful records of the Proceedings of the Parliament of England, of that of Great Britain, and of that of the United Kingdom, down to the year 1803, when "COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES" begin, will be comprized in these sixteen volumes.—— To each Volume (as may be seen from those already published) there will be prefixed a full and clear Table of Contents; and, in the last Volume, there will be given a GENERAL INDEX to the whole Work, so complete that, I hope, it will be found to leave nothing of any importance difficult to be referred to.——As the Work has proceeded, new sources of information have opened; the examination of one work has led to the examination of another. Official Documents, and also Speeches have been found in books, never looked upon as containing an account of the proceedings in parliament; so that, from a list which I have now made of the books which will be necessary to the completion of the work, I am satisfied, that they will cost not less than seven hundred pounds. Besides these sources, afforded by the press, several manuscripts have been received from gentlemen, anxious to have them preserved in this permanent shape; and, I cannot let slip this opportunity of soliciting further communications of this sort, especially relating to the period from 1743 to 1774, during which the Proceedings of Parliament, were (as evidently appears from our collections already made) given, in print, in a manner so very defective and erroneous.——It was resolved, at the outset, to adhere, through every stage of the proceedings, to the most strict impartiality; nothing has, hitherto, nor shall be hereafter, either omitted, or inserted, on account of its being favourable to the reputation or the doctrines of any party. Whatever appears to have been actually said or done, in either House of Parliament, that has any tendency to what ought to be the object of such a publication, has been, and shall be, as far as authentic materials will go, recorded with scrupulous fidelity.——I have already observed, that the undertaking of this laborious task was suggested by the difficulties actually experienced by me; and, as I was desirous of coming at useful knowledge myself, so, in the planning and executing of the Work, practical utility has been the great object, leaving matters of antiquarian curiosity to the few persons who have leisure for such pursuits. In short, my desire was to make a book, of which, in putting it into the hands of my children, I might safely say, "Read this; herein will you "find a full and faithful account, as far as "any man living can know, of what has "been said and done in the Parliament, "from its first existence to the present day. "Herein also, and nowhere else, will you "find the true history of your country, a "knowledge of which, from this source, "will enable you to avoid the errors, which "are but too frequently imbibed from the "reading of those romances, which are dignified with the title of "*Histories of "England.*" Here will you find all the "treaties, now upon record, ever entered "into by your country; the history of all "its connections with foreign nations; of "the various changes in its religious establishments; of its manners at the several "stages of its progress; of all the national "failings and national virtues of our forefathers. Here you will not see a description of those forefathers, a faint, a partial, "or exaggerated resemblance of them; but "you will see them rise before you, and "you will hear their words from their own "lips." Such a work it was my desire to make; and such a work I flatter myself I shall succeed in making.——The fourth Volume comprising the Period from the Restoration in 1660 to the Death of Queen

Anne in 1714, will be published in May next, and the two succeeding volumes during the present year. The materials, as far as the press has enabled us to collect, are already collected; the great difficulties of the undertaking are all overcome, and I can now, if health does not fail, pledge myself for the publication of at least three volumes in every year, until the sixteen be completed; and, in order that nothing may be wanting in the execution of the printing, and that it may be as clear and durable as possible, Mr. T. C. HANSARD, the printer, has erected a Stanhope press, the powers of which are such as to insure to a sheet so large as that of this work, an uniformity and indelibility of impression, equal to those which are given to sheets of the smallest dimensions.——In conclusion, it is necessary to state, that, though I was, from the first, confident of the final success of the work, to risk largely would have been imprudent; that, therefore, I began, and have thus far continued, with printing Fifteen Hundred copies; but, that the subscriptions have now risen to a number sufficient to induce me to begin the Fourth volume with Two Thousand copies; and I cannot refrain from adding (I confess, with some degree of pride), that neither the Prospectus nor the Published Volumes have ever been advertised in any Newspaper, Magazine, Review, or other publication, but in the Political Register only, and, even in that, not above six or seven times. I wished to see what I was able to accomplish, in this way, with my independent powers; how far the Work would succeed by its own bare merits; how far the merit of useful labour (for to no other do we make any pretensions) would meet with reward.——In future, when a volume is ready for delivery, an intimation thereof will be given in some of the most widely-circulated newspapers; and, it being necessary, as must be evident from the circumstances above stated, to take, thus early, precautions, calculated to prevent any broken sets remaining upon hand at the conclusion, I take this opportunity of requesting all those gentlemen, who, take the work, to send their names to their respective booksellers, as no copies of any newly published volume will, on any consideration, be sold, but to purchasers of the former volumes.——Gentlemen residing in Ireland, wishing to become subscribers, will please to apply to Mr. Archer, of Dublin.——N. B. Such Gentlemen as may be in possession of materials which they may wish to contribute towards the completion of this Work, and all others having communications of any sort to make respecting it, are requested to address their Letters to me, at No. 5, Panton Square, London.

The several CORRESPONDENTS, whose letters have not yet been inserted, are assured, that they will all be duly attended to; but, they must perceive, that it is necessary to suit the contents of the Register to the events of the time of publication. The discussions, relative to the Poor Laws, Tythes, and Commerce in general, are not, at this moment, of so much immediate interest, as those relating to peace with France, and war with America.—I beg all persons, who have to write to me, upon public matters, to direct their letters to N°. 5, Panton Square, London; and it is proper to add, that, for the reason before fully stated, I must decline receiving any that are not free of the charge of postage.—*Southampton* is not the post-town of Botley; *Bishop's Waltham* is. Scores of letters have gone back to the general post-office for the want of being postage-free; but, after the notice that I have given, the fault is not mine.

Botley, January 13, 1808.

THE MANIAC'S POLITICS.

(Extracted from the Courier of the 9th January, 1808.*)*

The unfortunate Maniac, whose interview with the Hon. Mr. Villiers, at Cranburn-Lodge, in Windsor Forest, we mentioned yesterday, was last night conveyed back to the mad house at Bethnal-Green. There are some particulars in this unhappy man's case, which take it out of the common course of cases of lunacy, and which are calculated to excite in a more than common degree our sympathy and our pity. His anxiety to gain an interview with Mr. Villiers was extremely great, and his solicitations so earnest, accompanying them with saying that what he had to state would be attended with such excellent effects, that the servants did not hesitate to admit him. The account, as our readers recollect, said that he wished Mr. Villiers to introduce him to His Majesty, because he had several plans to submit, and some public grievances to lay before His Majesty. Mr. Villiers naturally enquired the nature of those plans, and the subject of those grievances. The unhappy Maniac entered into them fully. He began with the Catholic question, upon which he was extremely agitated and vehement. He said that the country was lost without Catholic emancipation and without abolition of tythes; he enlarged upon Bonaparte's attachment to

religious toleration, desiring Mr. Villiers to see how the Emperor Napoleon attaches his subjects of every description to his government, and banishes religious discord from among them; that all the Catholic nations must be averse to any connexion with us; and that this was the real cause of the failure of all the coalitions against France.—He passed rapidly to the Danish expedition, against which he spoke in strong terms; calling it unprecedented, atrocious, and monstrous; praised much the pacific and gentle nature of the Danes; bemoaned the robbery committed upon them, and expressed extreme anxiety that the Danish fleet should be sent back immediately.—The next subject he took up was that of our treatment of America, and asked what must be the consequence should the voice of our desperate politicians succeed in prompting us to a war with the United States? He had at his fingers' ends all the calculations about cotton, and was quite uneasy at the distresses which the want of cotton gowns and caps might produce: asking at the same time, what is to become of the immense multitude of our population, employed in the different departments of the cotton trade, should the American cotton be excluded from our market?—He was very violent upon the subject of our treatment of America, inveighed against Mr. Lyon's motion relative to the transfer by young Mr. Erskine, our minister in America, of his father's stock in the American funds, and exposed Mr. Lyon's origin, dwelling with much force upon his having emigrated from Ireland, and been sold upon his arrival in America for a couple of bulls. He said that he ment to press his Majesty to consider what was likely to be the future state of the country since a former keeper of his Majesty's conscience had not thought proper to trust his fortune in it, but had chosen to invest his money in the American funds in preference to the British.—He was very desirous that his Majesty should encourage petitions for peace, and talked of the 10,000 men who had lately assembled in a room at Oldham, in Lancashire, to draw up a petition for peace. Peace upon Bonaparte's own terms, he streniously advised, Bonaparte being disposed to treat us with all the clemency and moderation of a conqueror.—He talked much of Lord Strangford's dispatches, and bursting into a louder tone, said, he felt it to be his duty to expose fully, and, *unanswerably*, the mean devices by which the Treasury advocates, and among them the accredited agents of ministers, had attempted to mislead the public into a belief that the emigration of the court of Lisbon had been partly owing to the measures of our Cabinet. He contended, from Lord Strangford's dispatch, that neither he nor his employers had any share whatever in the fortunate event which had taken place—that every thing was done by them which men could do to make the plan fail—and that much loss had been sustained by their blunders, notwithstanding the lucky accidents which befriended us.—Lord Strangford's appointment as Minister to the Brazils, seemed to give him great uneasiness.—The idea of his Lordship having translated a work of Camoens inflamed his indignation; and he said when he saw this person sent to represent, among a new and allied people, the dignity of our Sovereign, and of the bravest, most *manly*, *truest* nation on the face of the earth—when he saw that the interests of England, of her commerce, and her political relations with her only remaining Ally, were to be intrusted to a young Poet, it was natural for him to give vent to feelings which he experienced in proportion to his patriotism, and in common with every thinking man.—Finally, he said, his object in his proposed interview with his Majesty was to impress upon his Majesty the necessity of calling back to his councils "all the talents, weight, character, and consideration in the country," who could alone save the country by making peace upon Bonaparte's own terms.—Mr. Villiers towards the latter end of the unhappy maniac's speech, having suggested some objections to the accuracy of his statement, he instantly took fire, and said he had all the documents in his pocket; upon which he directly pulled out a large bundle of *Morning Chronicles*, and said "here are the documents," which he threw indignantly upon the table; hinting that he was the Windsor correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, and that the letters in that paper signed A. B.—Veritas—an Englishman—Junius—were written by him. This may account for the great similarity between several parts of the Maniac's speech to Mr. Villiers, and some articles in the *Morning Chronicle*.—It may also account for the *Morning Chronicle* being more accurately and fully informed upon the subject of the proceedings of the Maniac at Windsor than any other paper.—Since his return to Bethnal Green, all persons "of talent, rank, weight, and consideration in the country" have been to see him.

IRELAND, AS IT IS.

VINDEX, LETTER I.

SIR,——The accumulating dangers of the British Empire, the vast importance of the

resources, which may be derived from Ireland, for surmounting them, and your persevering and public spirited endeavours, to direct public attention to the situation of that unhappy country, must inevitably force the consideration of its affairs upon parliament, at an early period of the approaching session. The measures, pursuing by the *patriots* on the other side of the channel, and the language, held by their partisans on this, shew clearly, that the subject will be brought into discussion, without a possibility of option or alternative. Indeed, so many, so various, and such essential interests depend upon the unanimous co-operation of all parts of the empire, at this moment of expected universal warfare, that the legislature could not, consistently with its constitutional duty, abstain from a solemn inquiry into the causes of discontents, notoriously existing in any one part of the kingdom, with a view to re-establish universal harmony, by a wise and salutary redress of limited or local grievances. Taking it for granted, therefore, that either, from a sense of duty, the parliament, or, from party motives, the ousted faction, will bring this most important question into early discussion; I am persuaded, that a fair, a candid, and an impartial statement of the real situation of that country, will not be unacceptable to your readers, and may have very beneficial effects, by removing the gross misconceptions that too generally prevail upon this subject.—It has been the lot of Ireland, during the whole of last century, to be made the sport, and the prey of the factions, that successively possessed themselves of the government there. The same cant words, that marked the distinctions of parties in this country, were adopted with equal zeal, and maintained with more opposition and obstinacy in that. Red hot loyalty and hollow and hypocritical patriotism, proved alternately, the instruments of party aggrandisement. The men at the head of affairs were frequently changed, but the measures of the executive continued uniform and unaltered, into whatever hands the administration of affairs might have fallen. Popular complaints, and public grievances were equally postponed by every faction, to the more interesting objects of promoting family jobs, and providing for party connections. Any liberal system of policy was incompatible with such contracted views and selfish principles. There could be no generous expansion of motive, no upright or enlightened principle of administration, whilst the source of every noble impulse, of every exalted sentiment was contaminated in the hearts of all descriptions of public men, by the sordid influence of avarice and personal ambition. That power, which was so eagerly sought for private ends, was exercised without much regard to public interests. If the men in office could but preserve their places, they were little solicitous for the removal of public grievances. The nation became successively the dupe, and the tool of cunning courtiers, and canting demagogues; who, as they ascended to power, by deceiving the people, invariably endeavoured to preserve it by betraying them. Hence that distraction of councils, that rancourous hostility of political antagonists, which spread animosity and disunion throughout the kingdom, and laid the foundation for those deplorable scenes, which can never be remembered without affliction, nor contemplated but with horror. Several important measures, however, had been, from time to time accomplished, highly conducive to the prosperity and independence of Ireland; but their success was, in no small degree, owing to critical times and fortunate combinations of circumstances. Much had been done, but much still remained to be atchieved; when designing men, taking advantage of the want of confidence in public characters, and the sense of disappointment on the part of the people, precipitated a convulsion, that threatened immediate ruin to that, and great and imminent danger to every other part of the empire. The storm was some time gathering, whilst all the phenomena of the political atmosphere portended a dreadful explosion. The eventful moment at length arrived, when by the favour of Providence, the vigilance of the existing government, and the jarring elements, which produced the tempest, the havoc it occasioned, was, in a great measure, confined to the spot upon which it burst. The shock was violent and tremendous, but the fury of the hurricane was soon spent; yet, though an apparent calm succeeded, the bodings of just apprehension had not been so easily silenced, and the distant, but scarce perceptible rumblings of new convulsions seemed to attest, that the hour of peril was not then past.—This was the state of things in Ireland, when the question of an incorporating union was brought forward. Alive to the dangers, that hung over the country, aware of the fruitlessness of hope, for measures of conciliation from their own distracted parliament, and anxious to transfer the cause of a whole people, from partial, provoked, and prejudiced judges, to the bar of a liberal and enlightened legislature, every man in Ireland, who loved British connection, and detested French principles and fraternity, gave his cordial

and strenuous support to the measure. It would be invidious, as it would now be ungenerous, to impute sinister motives to those, who, in parliament, opposed the union. They are now politically defunct as a body, and it is not my disposition to violate the sanctity of the tomb, or insult the ashes of the dead. History will do justice to their motives and their conduct; and, in deciding upon the characters of the principal agents in this transaction, will reveal, how far their hostility to the measure may, or may not, have been influenced by the same considerations of partial or personal interest, which dictated the local opposition displayed against it in various particular parts of Ireland. The great mass of the people was either favourable, or certainly not hostile, to the union. The Protestants were divided on the question; the Catholics, where they did not support it, were absolutely neuter; but, the thinking and disinterested part of the community, of whatever sect or persuasion, were its most zealous advocates. A century of political squabbles, and disgusting contests for the loaves and fishes, had sufficiently proved the inefficiency of the existing order of things, to any purposes of enlarged policy or national tranquillisation. Whilst the Irish legislators had liberty and the glorious revolution constantly in their mouths, they cherished oppression and persecution in their hearts. They kept four-fifths of the nation in a state of civil bondage, and called that freedom; they maintained with a high hand the insulting ascendancy of the remaining fifth of the population, and called that the constitution. In their jargon, the nation was free, because the faction was not enslaved; as if it was possible for a popular constitution to exist, where the people was excluded from all the benefits of it. Looking, therefore, to the materials, of which the Irish parliament was composed, looking to the manner, in which that body was usually chosen and constituted; looking, too, to the inevitable and no remote consequences to Ireland, and to the Empire, of a perseverance in the narrow and illiberal policy, with which that country had been so long and so fatally misgoverned, every impartial and considerate man of the nation hailed the measure of union, as the dawn of a new and auspicious period in the annals of his country. The support, however, which that measure received, was not gratuitous or groundless. If the prospect held out to Ireland, had not greatly varied from the gloomy features presented in the sad retrospect of its sufferings, there could not have been found an Irishman, who would be a party to the parricidal extinction of his country from the nations of the world, or who would not have preferred even the mockery of independence to the reality of subjection, aggravated by the continuance of unmitigated political oppression. It was upon the distinct and recognized admission, that the union would lead to the total abolition of those odious restrictions, which had so long disfigured and disgraced the Irish code, that the union was so effectually supported. For, as his Majesty's reign had been distinguished by successive acts, for the relief of his Catholic subjects from disabilities, imposed upon them in times of turbulence and danger, and these acts had uniformly originated with the government, and were pressed upon the Irish Parliament, it could never have entered into the head of any one, that any opposition to the final abolition of all distinctions was to be apprehended in any quarter, after the demise of that parliament. Still less could it have been apprehended, that such an opposition would have been made by any branch of that legislature, which had approved of the constitution of Corsica, or passed the act, 31 Geo. 3. chap. 31 for the settlement of the Canadas. By the constitution of Corsica, which, I believe, was fully confirmed by his Majesty, though not sanctioned by Parliament, the Catholics of that island were granted privileges, not enjoyed by any British subject, and even a religious establishment was arranged for them, in concert with the Pope. The act of settlement of the Canadas, which is an act of the legislature, establishes the Catholic religion in those provinces, by authorising the Catholic clergy to receive tythes from their Catholic parishioners, and allows the council and legislature of these colonies to be composed indifferently of Catholics and Protestants. Two French wars have occurred, since the transfer, by treaty, of Canada to Great Britain; and yet it is notorious, that no symptom of disaffection to the British government has ever appeared amongst its inhabitants, either before or since the act of settlement. It would be difficult then to point out any good reason, why Catholics, who had been, *prima facie*, less trust worthy, as having imbibed necessarily, under their former government, French feelings of hostility against this country, should be admitted to the enjoyment of political rights, which are to be denied to native Catholics, whose every feeling is truly British, and whose only security it is to identify with British interests and connection. But, if the reason of the thing be not easily discoverable, the principle of faith, upon which this

distinction has been attempted to be justified, is still more unintelligible. One cannot easily conceive a scruple of conscience, that could apply to one, without being equally applicable to both cases. It would appear to common sense, common honesty, or vulgar notions of obligation, impossible for any casuistry to establish any difference between the two cases, that would not be favourable to the claims of the Catholics of the United Kingdom. But, I shall not pursue this topic further now. What I have stated will be sufficient to expose the folly and absurdity of the ground, on which these claims are said to be resisted. The question does not, at present, need to be much pressed. Growing dangers will open men's eyes to its importance. The rational part of the British public, and the whole of the Irish public (for I make no account of their mad bigots) are converts already to the doctrine, no less liberal than just, of equal burthens—equal laws—equal rights. The time is not very distant, when these claims must be granted. By must, I do not mean external force, but moral obligation. Political necessity will impose the obligation, and motives of prudence will discharge it. The suitor may in the first instance meet with a repulse; but, if the dame, after some dalliance should still continue to hold out, she runs the hazard of seeing her inamorato engrossed by a rival. Mr. Grattan says that there is a French party in Ireland. I do not believe it; but, I am sure, not, that there is a discontented party in Ireland, but that Ireland is discontented. If Great Britain turn a deaf ear to the just complaints of that nation, she may create, what I am convinced does not now exist there, a French party. I must confess, however, that I do not think the final emancipation of the Catholics of such importance, either to the interests or tranquillity of Ireland, as it is to the security and welfare of the empire. The grant of political rights, which are, and would be, unavailing, with respect to the great bulk of the population of that country, could not render them insensible to the pressure of the heaviest practical burthens, to which the mass of any nation has ever yet been subjected. But the throwing open the different departments of the state to the talents and ambition of so numerous a class of subjects, as the Roman Catholics, would have the most immediate and decisive beneficial effect upon the public service. In the army and navy this would be particularly felt, for the sons of the nobility and gentry of that persuasion, who would immediately take advantage of the opening, would draw after them such a multitude of persons into both services, as would in all probability carry the effective strength of each to the full amount of their respective establishments. But, as a tranquillising measure for Ireland, the emancipation of the Catholics would prove very ineffectual. To the multitude, that is rather an object of allowable pride, than of any real utility. A few of the higher classes might indeed have an opportunity of taking advantage of it, to get into situations of political consideration, from which they are at present excluded. When I consider how little is demanded, or can be acquired, by the emancipation, I find it difficult to account for the impediments, that obstruct its progress, on any other score, than that of dire infatuation. No shadow of suspicion was ever entertained against the higher classes of the Catholics, and yet it is to them that indulgence is to be dealt out with a sparing hand. Every right, that the lower classes of Protestant subjects enjoy, is equally participated by the Catholic of the same rank, without any inconvenience or evil whatever. In the higher classes, independent of the general attachment, that must be felt to a common and equally protecting government, education, habit, and the possession of property afford ample security for the constitutional use of any political right or privilege, which may be granted to them. The whole question refers to them exclusively, at least, as to any immediate effect of its adoption. For, as to the great majority of the Catholics, they are not solicitous for the removal of disabilities, which do not affect themselves, except so far, as artful and designing agitators may persuade them, that the removal of these disabilities is connected with the redress of their grievances. To tranquillise Ireland, therefore, the only effectual course is, to inquire fully into the causes of the discontents, that exist in that country, and to endeavour to remove them, as far as legislative remedies can be applied for that purpose. Those, who know Ireland best, must be sensible, that, though parliamentary interference may do much, there will remain many sources of grievance, which cannot be come at by any legislative enactments. The evils, which weigh down that unfortunate country, have not their foundation altogether in any defect of law, or abuse of power, or limitation of rights, or exclusive privileges; but they are compounded of all these, exaggerated—aggravated—exasperated by base passions, rancorous prejudices, and factious feelings, which, like so many excrescences, fasten upon the fair stock of society, and intercept the nourishment, that should be allowed freely to circulate, and

carry life, fertility, and vigour, to all its most remote or minute branches. From such a complication of causes there must naturally result many grievances, which cannot be redressed by any positive institution. Of this we have a satisfactory, or rather, (because such a circumstance cannot be satisfactory) an indisputable evidence in the proceedings, lately set on foot, in that country, by the *patriots* and land proprietors, with respect to tythes. Those very public spirited and disinterested gentlemen would fain persuade us, that the great hardships of the people of Ireland, arise solely from the operation of tythes. But they do not seem to be aware, that the clergyman's property, in tythes, rests upon as valid a title in law, and upon a much stronger ground in reason, than their property in their respective patrimonies; and one cannot help pitying the fatuity, with which they are endeavouring to sap the foundation of their own titles to their possessions, by decrying or weakening titles, which are founded upon precisely the same authority. I do not, nor can I, deny, that the operation of tythes in Ireland is a grievance; but, I still do contend, that with all the vexations attending their collection, they form but a very small portion of the oppression, under which the great body of the people of that country labours. Yet, I would ask, how it has happened, that those very patriotic gentlemen, in descanting upon the hardships of tythes, have uniformly connected them with the clerical establishment. They could not be ignorant, that one-third of the tythes of Ireland is in the hands of lay impropriators, and it was in fairness due to that most respectable body, the clergy of Ireland, that they should state, how far the exactions of those lay proprietors kept pace with, or fell short of, the rates levied, on behalf of the clergy. The fact is, that, in all times, the church and the clergy have been a most abundant theme of ridicule and obloquy to unprincipled witlings and hollow politicians. A short lived popularity would be the consequence of overthrowing the church establishment, but if the mass of the people were to be admitted to a participation of the plunder, they would not easily be induced to respect that popularity, if it interfered with the pursuit of similar game. I would not be understood here to insist, that tythes ought to be continued in their present shape in Ireland: on the contrary, it is my firm conviction, that the country would derive most important benefits from a fair commutation; and, I am equally persuaded, that the clergy would be gainers by any arrangement, that would give them an adequate compensation for their property in tythes. My object has been not to justify grievance, but to repel aggression. It has been a favourite practice with the landed proprietors of Ireland, to cast a veil over their own exactions, by drawing the whole attention of the public to their misrepresentations of those of the clergy. As the subject will certainly be discussed in parliament next session, it becomes the duty of every man who is anxious for the tranquillity and welfare of that country, to illustrate it with all the light which his experience can supply. With this view the present communication is addressed to you, Sir, and, if you should deem it worthy of insertion, it shall be followed by others in succession, on the same subject, and to the same purpose; which, however deficient they may be, in stile or manner, will certainly possess the merit of excluding all matter, but what is founded on unexceptionable authority, or bottomed upon the personal experience and observation of, Sir, yours, &c. &c.——VINDEX.——*London, December* 14, 1807.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

(Continued from p. 64.)

JAMAICA.—*Resolutions, passed unanimously by the House of Assembly, on the 29th of Oct.* 1807, *relative to the distressed state of the Colony, and especially to the Abolition Act, passed by the last Parliament.*

What has been long known and felt here, has been lately fully proved before a Committee of the House of Commons, that, from the operations of the causes which we have only briefly adverted to, the great staple of the British West Indies, sugar, does not sell in the markets of the mother country for the duties, with the expences and charges of sending it there.—And that, with the exception of a few plantations on a very large scale, or under circumstances peculiarly fortunate, no revenue whatever is left to the planter, for the support of his family, or the satisfaction of his creditors.—The committee need hardly represent that the only permanent source of taxation must be the clear revenue of the individuals composing the society, who give up a proportion of it to the general use, and for the common safety, in whatever manner that proportion may be raised.

(To be continued.)

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